Environment Canada Parks Service
Environnement Canada Service des parcs

Wreck of the Augusta

The Wreck of the Auguste

National Historic Sites
Parks Service

Environment Canada

93-01676/

©Minister of Supply and Services Canada 1992.

Available in Canada through authorized bookstore agents and other bookstores, or by mail from the Canada Communication Group – Publishing, Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1A 0S9.

Published under the authority
of the Minister of the Environment,
Ottawa, 1992.

Layout: Sheila Ascroft and Suzanne H. Rochette
Production: Suzanne H. Rochette and Rod Won

Parks publishes the results of its research in archaeology, architecture and history. A list of publications is available from National Historic Sites Publications, Parks Service, Environment Canada, 1600 Liverpool Court, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0H3.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

The Wreck of the Auguste

Issued also in French under title: Le naufrage de l'Auguste
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 0-660-14562-6
DSS cat. no. R64-191/1992E

1. Auguste (Ship). 2. Shipwrecks — Nova Scotia — Cape Breton Island — History. 2. Wreck — Nova Scotia — Cape Breton Island — History. I. Canadian Parks Service. National Historic Sites.

G530.A9W73 1992 910.4'5 C92-099715-5

Table of Contents

1. Shipwrecked 5

2. The Storms of War and Politics 9

3. Journey into Exile 13

4. A Voyage to Disaster 25

5. The Long March of St-Luc de La Corne 31

6. The Life and Death of a Ship 37

7. Artifacts of the Passengers 43

8. Artifacts of the Ship 55

9. If You Want to Learn More 65

Appendix: The Passenger List 66

Acknowledgements 70

1. Shipwrecked

For three days, the November gale had been raging out of the east-northeast, heaping up the sea and driving great combers onto the sweeping, sickle-shaped beaches of Aspy Bay, on the northeast coast of Cape Breton Island.

Now a ship came lurching through the grey murk and flying spume, with the torn remnants of square sails flapping on all three of its masts. The *Auguste* had been fighting storms and heavy seas for two weeks on its way down the St. Lawrence from Québec towards the open Atlantic. The crew had no real idea where they were, and their situation was desperate.

One of the passengers was St-Luc de La Corne, a seasoned 50-year-old merchant, soldier and fur trader. His diary vividly portrays the events of that terrible day.

"The crew was so exhausted after three days of effort that they took to their hammocks," La Corne later wrote. "The mate tried to rouse them and threatened to flog them but his efforts were futile. The men said they preferred to die in their hammocks. The mate came to the bridge where I was along with the Captain, the man at the helm and one of my servants. The mate told the Captain it was impossible to work the ship. 'Our mizzen mast is broken, our sails are in a thousand pieces, and we haven't been able to work the sails for 24 hours.'"

Captain John Knowles knew the ship's position was hopeless. The gale was driving the crippled *Auguste* steadily deeper into Aspy Bay, and it had no prospect of beating back out to sea.

"About 11 o'clock we saw a river on the port side about half a cannon shot away. I had just time to acquaint our

people when the ship was aground about 40 yards from the shore."

The ship, says La Corne, "tacked about and overturned immediately." The ship filled with water, "so that most of the people were drowned before they could get upon deck, and they who did not hold fast when they came there, were soon washed overboard."

The survivors clung to the disintegrating hulk of the *Auguste* for about two hours. Then the ship's two boats worked themselves loose. The larger one was broken, but "the other fell into the water; wherein one Étienne, Mr. La Vérendrye's servant, was the first that jumped in, with some others, the Captain, myself, with one of my children in my arms, and Mr. Hery's boy, who got hold of my coat, saying, 'Save me, there is the boat,' which I had not seen before: I jumped into it immediately, before the first wave filled it up with water, and carried away the two boys; then having got up on the side of the boat, the sea drove me ashore, where, having recovered, I went to assist the Captain and three other men that were struggling in the water."

On the beach, La Corne saw that "the only persons saved" were "the Captain of the ship; Laforêt, Corporal of the Regiment de Royal Roussillon; Monier, soldier of the Regiment de Béarn; Étienne, a servant; Pierre, a servant; La Force, formerly a soldier; and myself." The remaining 114 crew and passengers had drowned.

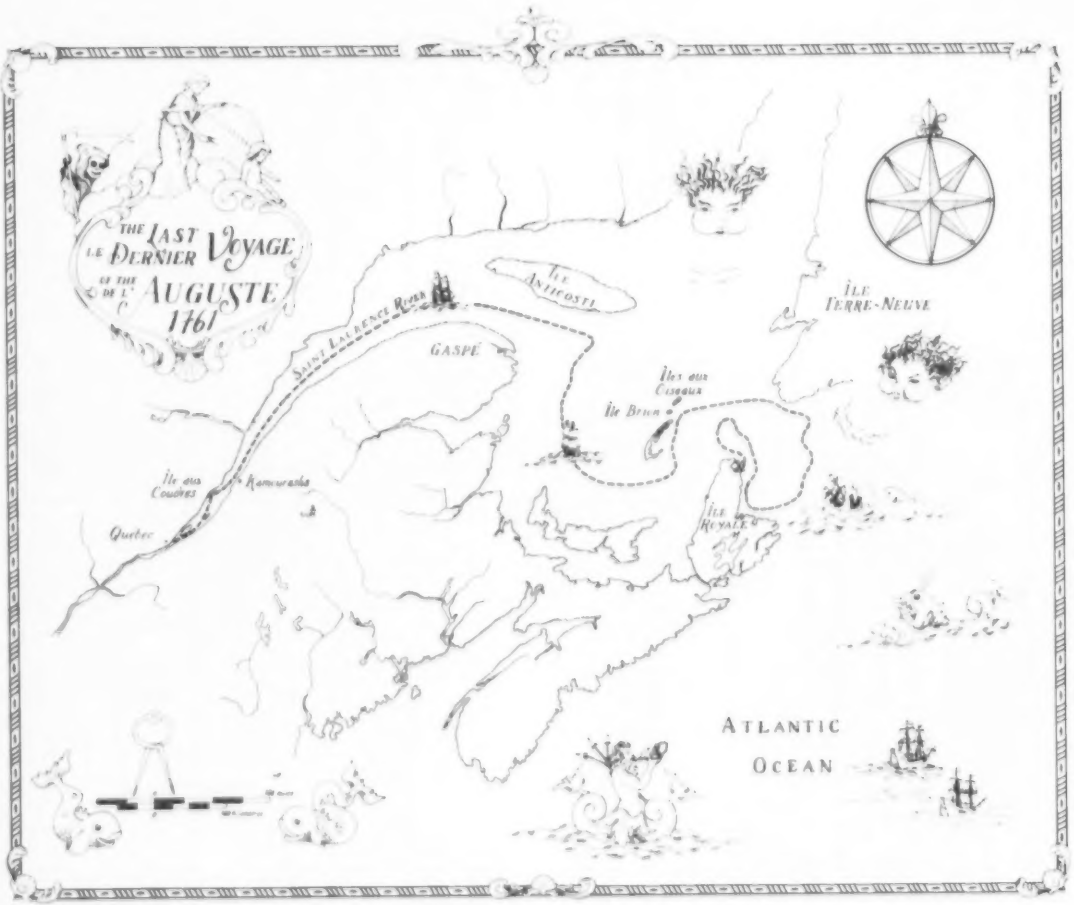
Cold, exhausted and soaking wet, the survivors watched the ship break up and disappear only two or three hours afterwards. The waves carried body after body to the beach. It was growing dark. La Corne still had his powder horn, fire steel and flints. With these, the seven survivors made a fire and huddled together for the night.

On what desolate shore were they stranded? The *Auguste* had been tossed and driven all over the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the master's selection of charts had only covered European waters. They thought they might be on Isle Royale, as

Cape Breton Island was then known, possibly near the fortress city of Louisbourg.

No other vessels were likely to visit such a lonely stretch of coast, especially in November, and their boat had been smashed in the surf. In the morning they would do what they could to bury the dead - and then they would have to walk out until they found some sign of human habitation.

It is hard to imagine how St-Luc de La Corne managed to sleep that night, if he did. Among the corpses in the water and on the beach were his brother, two sons, two nephews and many old friends and associates.


THE LAST VOYAGE
LE DERNIER VOYAGE
OF THE
DE L'
AUGUSTE
1761
Saint Lawrence River
Gaspé
Ile Anticosti
Ile Brion
Iles aux Oiseaux
Ile Royale
Ile Terre-Neuve
Ile aux Coudres
Kamouraska
Quebec
Atlantic
Ocean

2. The Storms of War and Politics

If the *Auguste* and the people had been buffetted by the wind and sea, they had also been tossed and driven by the storms of war and politics. For nearly two centuries, France and England had fought one another for control of North America.

When La Corne was born, the English held only a string of colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. France controlled Acadia - today's Maritime Provinces - as well as Québec and Louisiana, and the Ohio and Mississippi valleys which linked the two. With the sea in front of them and the French behind them, the English were effectively encircled, blocked off from the West and the lucrative fur trade.

In a half-century of warfare, however, the English steadily gained ground. England's final campaign for control of the St. Lawrence, the highway to the West, began with the conquest of Louisbourg in 1758 and continued with the dramatic capture of Québec in 1759.

Capturing Québec, however, was one thing; holding it was another. The French Canadian forces still controlled the surrounding countryside, and fully expected to re-take the city once French troops and supplies arrived in the spring.

But when the first ships arrived on 9 May 1761 they were British, not French. When the French vessels did arrive, the British attacked and sank them in the Bay of Chaleur at the Battle of the Restigouche. French regulars, colonial troops and the militia fought on through the summer, but without reinforcements and supplies their situation was hopeless. On 8 September 1760, Governor Vaudreuil surrendered Montréal.

As a captured territory, New France was now governed by British martial law. Its long-term fate would not be settled

until the Treaty of Paris formally concluded the war in 1763. For the intervening three years, New France and its people remained in limbo. What would happen to their language, their religion, their laws? Would they even be allowed to stay in their homes? They had a grim precedent before them: in 1755, just five years before the fall of Montréal, the English had uprooted and expelled the French-speaking Acadians from Nova Scotia.

And what would happen to their livelihoods? As Roman Catholics under British rule, they would be barred from holding public offices, always a useful source of revenue. Businessmen were no better off. In 1759, the French government had been so close to bankruptcy that it stopped paying its bills in New France, where government contracts were the cornerstone of the economy. Many merchants faced bankruptcy, and none of them had family and business links in England to replace their lost connections in France.

All these problems were exacerbated by a chronic shortage of hard currency in New France. As a result, coins from many different countries circulated in the colony, and many families hoarded a variety of gold and silver coins as a highly portable hedge against disaster. At times, these coins were more valuable for their rare metal content than for their monetary value. Meanwhile, many forms of paper credit - including playing cards signed by the Intendant - were used to compensate for the chronic lack of real money. During the war, however, inflation eroded the value of this commercial paper, and after the capitulation, English merchants in Montréal refused to honour French paper at all.

Their refusal created great hardship for the Canadians. Major General Thomas Gage, the Governor of Montréal, blamed the shortage of currency for "the Distresses of most of the Familys here, which increase visibly. Plate, watches, Boxes, Cloaths, Books in short everything that can procure hard cash to go to the market is sent privately about, for sale."

CROSS OF ST. LOUIS

This cross, found on the site of the Auguste, *belonged either to Louis, the Chevalier de La Corne, or to his brother Luc, also known as La Corne Saint-Luc and St-Luc de La Corne. It is made of gold with white enamelling, and the centre design originally showed the head of Louis XIV on a ground of blue enamel.*

Members of the Chivalrous Order of Saint-Louis wore the Croix de Saint-Louis and received the title "Chevalier," but neither the title nor the cross itself was hereditary. On the death of the knight, the heirs were obliged to return the cross without delay. Nevertheless the honour remained a matter of pride to the heirs.

(Louis XIV Medal: *Le Mercure Galant*, Paris, Oct. 1715)

For men like St-Luc de La Corne, however, even these problems were overshadowed by another feature of the Montréal surrender. Under its terms, all French military personnel including native-born Canadians were obliged to return to France within a year. Most left in September 1760, but some - like La Corne - lingered another year. But the deadline was approaching inexorably, and the British were genuinely eager to see them leave.

The La Cornes were, after all, experienced soldiers. Both St-Luc de La Corne and his brother wore the Cross of St. Louis, showing their membership in the Chivalrous Order of St. Louis, founded by Louis XIV in 1693. Admission to the Order was an honour reserved for officers who had distinguished themselves in battle, either on land or at sea. Knights of the Order wore the Cross of St. Louis, a gold eight-pointed cross, enamelled in white. They also received the title "Chevalier" and a handsome decoration, as well as revenues and pensions.

General James Murray, Governor of Québec, wrote about these Chevaliers to Sir Jeffrey Amherst on 20 September 1761, arguing that

> *... as the oath they took when made Knights of St. Louis is incompatable with the oath of Allegiance we require of his Majesty's Canadian Subjects, I conceive none of that order have a right to remain in Canada.*

Major General Gage agreed:

> *... the sooner these Croix de St. Louis, with the rest of the idle Noblesse leave the Country, the better it will be for it, we shall then be able to judge, who will live under the British Government & who intend to remove.*

Among Gage's "idle Noblesse" were native-born Canadians serving in the French colonial forces - such as La Corne himself. St. Luc de La Corne was about to be "repatriated" to a country he had never seen in his life.

3. Journey into Exile

On 27 September 1761 - a year after the surrender - St-Luc de La Corne left Montréal for Québec on the first leg of his journey to France. He was accompanied by his brother, the Chevalier de La Corne, and by his own two sons and his brother's two sons. The party reached Québec on 29 September, where General Murray had, as he wrote to Amherst, "taken on two cartel ships to carry the officers &c. to France agreeable to the capitulation of Montréal and it will not be my fault if a man remains in Canada who should not be in it."

La Corne says that his group "waited on General Murray who received us with all possible politeness. As only two vessels, the *Jane* and the *Molineux*, had been provided for our passage, these not being sufficient for our number I asked permission to buy or hire another. He refused." Murray's refusal was not churlish or niggardly; on 1 October he provided the deportees with a third ship at no charge. The third vessel was "the *Augustus*, Captain John Knowles, who rented me a cabin for 500 Spanish *piastres*." Because they were carrying Canadian deportees under a flag of truce, the three vessels were known as "cartel" ships. (The forms of the ships' names vary from one document to another: La Corne here refers to the *Jane* rather than the *Jeanne*, and to the *Augustus* rather than the *Auguste* - or the *Augusta*, as it had once been known.)

Even as they prepared for the voyage, men like La Corne were still doing business, carrying furs to France in their own names on behalf of English merchants. On 7 October, General Murray wrote to Amherst to say:

Three Cartels with the French Officers Soldiers etc. will sail the day after tomorrow, they have carryd little or no furr or other Merchandize, I allow'd of none to be put on board but what Governors Gage and Burton certify'd to be agreeable to the capitulation of Montréal; ... our worthy British Traders endeavour'd to load the ships, (in the name of the French officers who consented thereto viz. Monr. St. Luke La Corne) with furrs, which bring a better price in France than they do in London....

The crew of the *Auguste* may thus have been loading British fur to be sold in France. Since passengers and personal effects were not nearly as heavy as the ship's usual cargo, the crew was certainly loading cannon, shot and other heavy material for ballast, to maintain the ship's stability.

In any case, the vessels were still in Québec on 11 October, when the La Corne brothers asked General Murray permission to hire a pilot "as the Captain did not know the River. Monsieur Murray replied that we were in no more danger than the other two ships and that he was supplying a small boat with an officer to take us to the last anchorage on the River." The following day, says La Corne, "we were ordered by General Murray to embark but the north-east wind made it impossible for us to sail." The *Auguste* finally left Québec on 15 October.

Looking around the *Auguste*, La Corne would have found himself among very familiar faces. Most of the male passengers on the *Auguste* were members of the Canadian colonial force, *les Compagnies franches de la Marine*, which had been formed in 1683. The *Compagnies* were never a large force, but by 1757 they consisted of 40 companies each with 69 men and officers. The officers were all native-born Canadians, most of them from military families. Fourteen Canadian officers and their families were aboard the *Auguste* - prominent and well-connected men, figures of influence and authority.

St-Luc de La Corne, also known as La Corne Saint-Luc.
(Photo courtesy of the National Archives of Canada, C-28244)

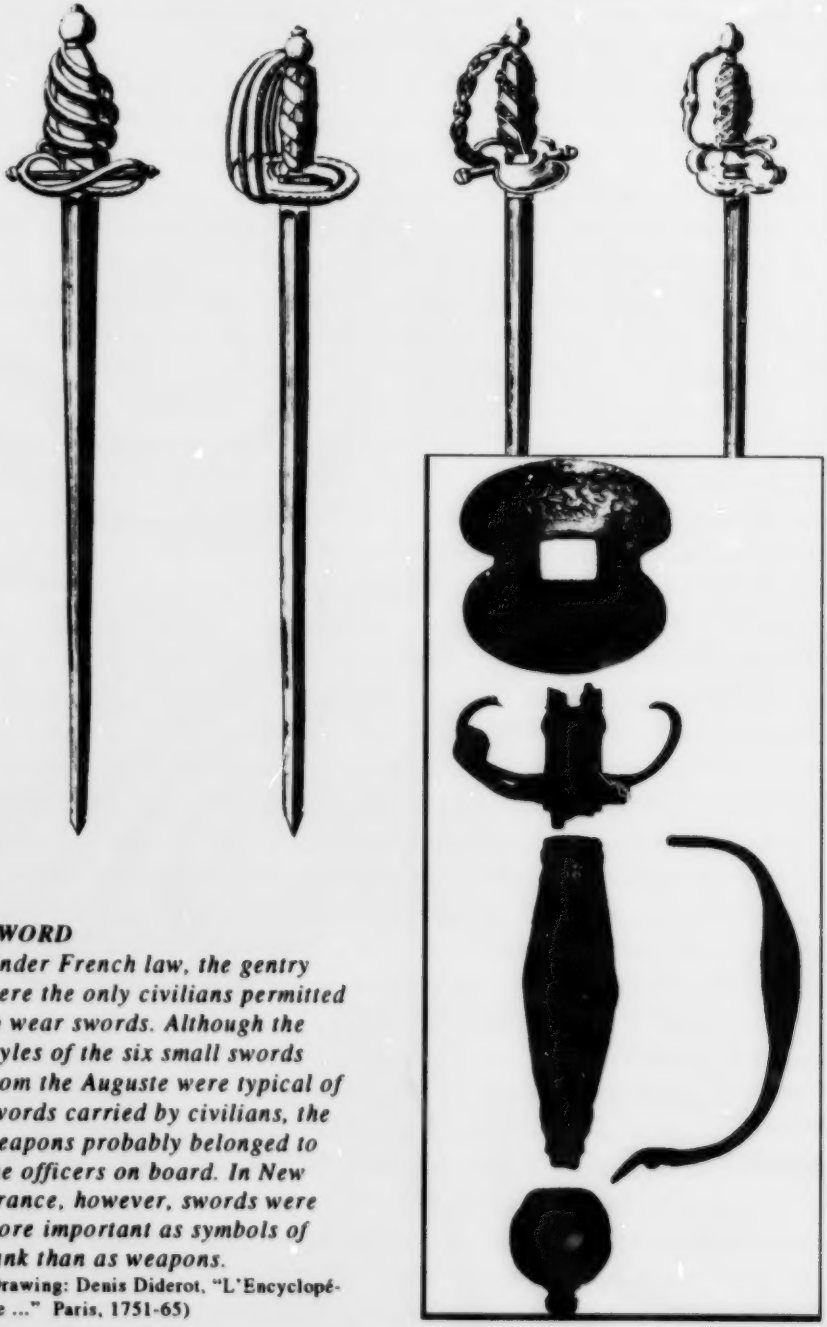
The lower ranks of the *Compagnies franches* were recruited in France and were encouraged to settle in Canada at the end of their service. These troops garrisoned cities, towns, and fur-trade posts, provided a labour force for public works and agriculture, guarded communication and supply routes and acted as scouts. In war-time they specialized in the guerrilla-style warfare which the Canadians had learned from the Indians - lightning raids by small forces, well-suited to the North American wilderness.

The officers were modestly paid, but during peace-time they could devote themselves to other affairs. Those in charge of western frontier posts often engaged in the fur trade, from which several of the *Auguste* passengers had made substantial fortunes.

St-Luc de La Corne was heavily involved in the fur trade, and by the time of his deportation he was considered one of the richest men in Canada. During his travels in the West he had learned a number of Indian languages and become adept at Indian-style warfare. With native allies, he harried the English along Lake Champlain during both the French and Indian Wars (1744-48) and the Seven Years' War (1756-63.) He won the military distinction of the Cross of St. Louis in 1759 for the successful ambush of a British supply column during which he destroyed the supplies, captured 64 prisoners and took 80 scalps.

The British were right to distrust La Corne: after the wreck, he fomented discontent among the Indians against the British occupation, and during the American Revolution he was so distrusted by both sides that the Americans imprisoned him as a precautionary measure. After his release, he and his Indian supporters joined forces with British Major-General John Burgoyne, but the Americans defeated Burgoyne's army at the Battle of Saratoga Springs in October 1777.

La Corne's brother Louis was known as the **Chevalier de La Corne** because he was the eldest son of the family. He was 58. He had been a captain since 1744 and a Knight of the Order of St. Louis since 1749. He fought the English in



SWORD

Under French law, the gentry were the only civilians permitted to wear swords. Although the styles of the six small swords from the Auguste were typical of swords carried by civilians, the weapons probably belonged to the officers on board. In New France, however, swords were more important as symbols of rank than as weapons.

(Drawing: Denis Diderot, "L'Encyclopédie ..." Paris, 1751-65)

Acadia and around Lake Champlain during the French and Indian Wars, and at the end of the war he became commandant of the western fur-trading posts, travelling as far west as the forks of the North and South Saskatchewan River where he built Fort La Corne. The English explorer Anthony Henday met the Chevalier in the West in 1755, and described him as "very kind" and "dressed very genteel...." That same year, the Chevalier returned to Montréal for active military duty, and he fought in all the major battles of the Seven Years' War as well as leading a large party which harrassed the British forces along the St. Lawrence upriver from Montréal.

Louis Joseph Gaultier de la Vérendrye was the fourth son of the great explorer. His father recognized his merits when the boy was 19 by passing over his older brothers to confer the title of Chevalier on him. But the La Vérendryes were in and out of official favour, which impeded both their commercial success and their military advancement. The Chevalier spent most of his life in the West as fur-trader, explorer and military officer.

He was famous for his knowledge of Indian languages and ways; official records describe him as "known from all savage nations." With his brothers, the Chevalier travelled as far south as present-day South Dakota, proving that the rumoured Western Sea did not lie in that direction. In 1744, he travelled further west than any other European had done, to the forks of the South and North Saskatchewan. There his Woodland Cree guides met kinsmen from the far West who confirmed the existence of the western mountains and beyond them of the unending lake with undrinkable water: the Western Sea which his father had sought.

La Vérendrye himself never saw the Pacific. He stayed in the West until 1747, then fought the Mohawks in early 1748 before returning to the West. In 1750 he was prevented by political intrigues in Montréal from taking over his father's monopoly of the western fur trade, though his canoes were already packed and ready to go. Two years later he and La Corne formed a partnership to trade furs in Wisconsin, and in

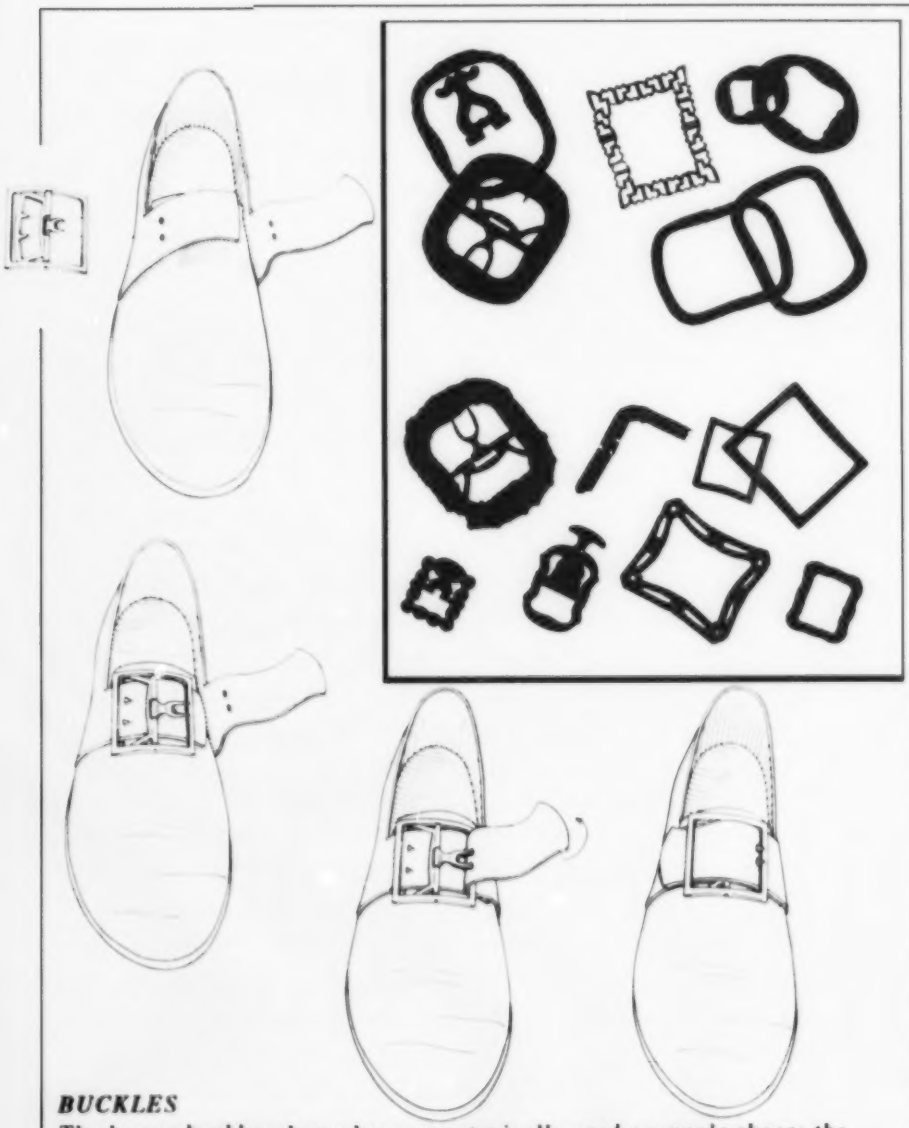
1756 he became commandant of the *poste de l'Ouest* for a three-year term. He only took up the position in 1758, however, and gave it over the next year to his partner, Charles-René Dejordy de Villebon, while La Vérendrye returned to Montréal with a party of Indian allies.

La Vérendrye turned 44 during the short, terrible voyage of the *Auguste*. Because he had every intention of returning to Canada, his second wife, Louise de Mezières de Lepervanche, remained in Montréal, where she survived, in great poverty, for 63 years.

Charles-René Dejordy de Villebon, La Vérendrye's partner in the fur trade, had served as second-in-command at Baie-des-Puants - now Green Bay, Wisconsin - and fought at Fort Oswego and Montréal. He was the last commander of the the French posts in the West. He was 46 when he drowned in the shipwreck with his wife, his sister and his three children.

Pierre Robinau de Portneuf, also known as Bécancourt de Portneuf, appears in the records as "a poor, brave, honest man." Like the others, he had been active in the fur trade, and had served with the colonial army in Louisiana, Michilimackinac and Fort Frontenac. In 1750 he built a small fortified fur-trading post called Fort Toronto, at the mouth of the Humber River on Lake Ontario. In 1756 he was appointed commandant of the Fort de la Presqu'ile - now Erie, Pennsylvania - and his service in the Ohio Valley during the Seven Years' War led Governor Vaudreuil to propose his name for the Cross of St. Louis in 1761, saying that "he merits it by the length and goodness of his service." He was 53 when he boarded the *Auguste*.

Jean-Baptist Le Ber de St-Paul et de Senneville was the grandson of a merchant who had made a fortune in New France in the late 1600s and had purchased the title of "esquire" in 1698. Le Ber was descended from a noble French family, and had served with the colonial troops, but he had retired by the time of the conquest. His wife was the Chevalier de La Vérendrye's sister, and she was aboard the *Auguste* along with their two children and Le Ber's sister. Two years



BUCKLES

The larger buckles shown here were typically used on men's shoes; the smaller ones might have been used on men's knee breeches or women's shoes. For men, even more than for women, buckles were fashionable accessories, displaying wealth and social standing. Most of the buckles from the site were inexpensive cast-decorated brass or pewter, but one was set with rock crystal stones and others were silver. The complete pair had a pewter frame, roughly bubbled by sea water, with brass parts.

(Drawing: Denis Diderot, "L'Encyclopédie...," Paris, 1751-65)

earlier, his family had numbered 15; eleven died in Canada, and when the ship sank the family was extinguished.

Trevet Lepervanche was also related by marriage to the Chevalier de La Vérendrye. He was still an *enseigne* in 1761 although he had been proposed lieutenant in 1759. His superior officers described him as "poor and passes for an honest man." He was originally on the passenger list of the *Molineux*, which sailed from Québec at the same time as the *Auguste*. The *Molineux* reached France safely.

Jean-Hippolyte Gaultier de Varennes was a cousin of La Vérendrye; their mutual grandfather had been governor at Trois Rivières. Varennes' father had been a military officer and a fur trader, but an act of insubordination had ended his career in disgrace in 1743. Varennes' brother had died at the battle of Ste-Foy in 1760.

The soldier listed simply as **Godefroy** was a member of one of the most prominent seigneurial families in New France. He became a lieutenant in the *Troupes de la Marine* in 1757, and was described as "a poor and honest man," and one who "has all the talents for his job, the sentiment and the conduct of the best citizen. Generally esteemed for his bravery and his probity." Governor Vaudreuil proposed his name for the Cross of St. Louis in March 1761, but it was already too late for that honor.

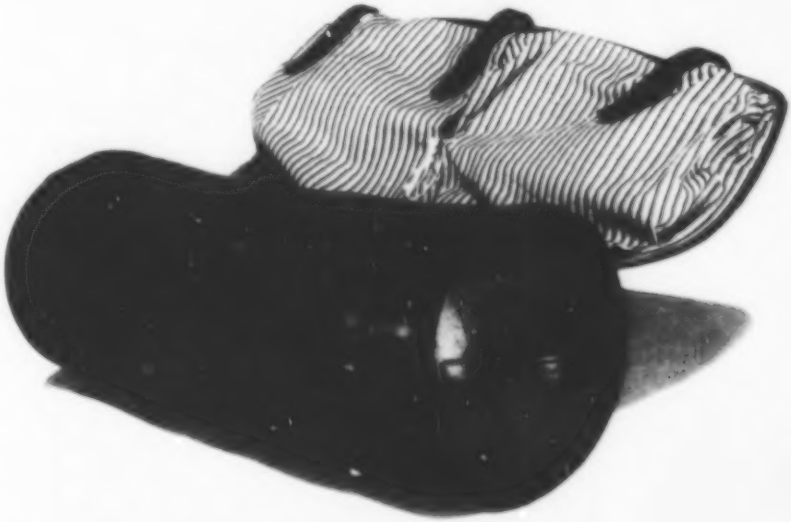
Raimbault de Saint Blin (also spelled Saint Blaint and Simblin) became lieutenant in 1757. He was believed to have been "made rich by the [fur] trade."

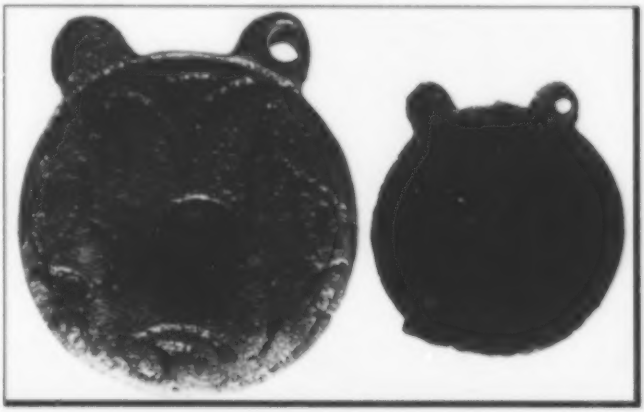
A number of other officers appear in the records only as "poor" or "brave." These include **Pécaudy de Contrecoeur**, a lieutenant since 1759 or 1760; **Raimbault Groschaîne** or Groschêne, an *enseigne en pied* who had been proposed for lieutenant in 1759 and 1760; **Boucher de la Perrière**, another *enseigne en pied*; and **La Durantaye**, who was commissioned *enseigne en pied* in 1760.

The remaining passengers included 34 soldiers, various military wives and children, and 13 civilians. We know very little about any of them. Of the 17 ship's crew, we know only

the name of the Captain, John Knowles. According to La Corne's journal, the crew included a second mate, three officers, a *maître d'hôtel* (steward), eight sailors, a cook and two cabin boys. The Appendix gives a complete list of the people believed to have been aboard.

Recognizing the uncertainty of the situation in Canada and the insecurity of their own positions, many of the passengers carried a substantial portion of their personal wealth with them in trunks, boxes and portmanteaux. Some passengers also carried credit notes for people remaining in the colony. In 1765, Ignace Gamelin of Montréal stated he had given treasury notes valued at 30 000 *livres* to his first cousin, Jean-Hippolyte Gaultier de Varennes, to take to France. He gave a similar package to another cousin, the widow Busquet, stipulating that the two were not to sail on the same vessel or else they were to give one of the packages to someone on another ship. When he heard nothing from his Paris contacts, Gamelin assumed - correctly - that both packages were lost on the *Auguste*.

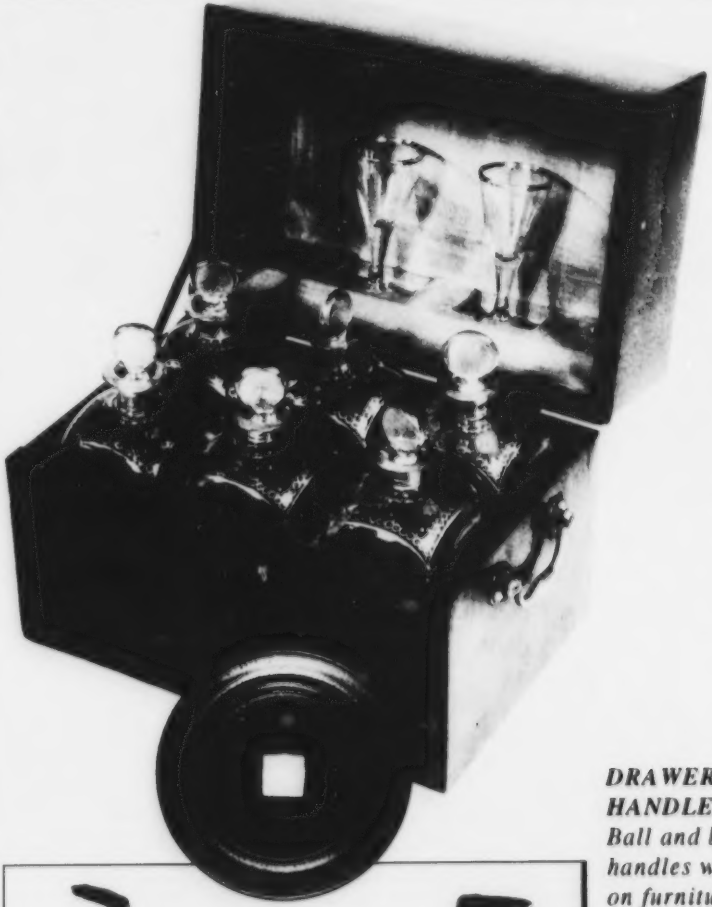


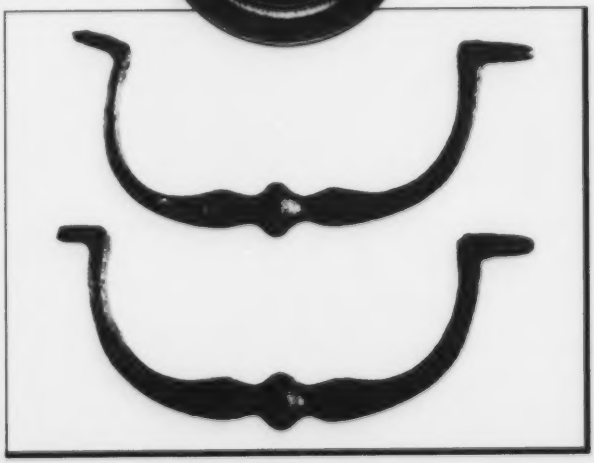


PADLOCKS

Small padlocks of brass with iron working parts were common on leather luggage; wooden boxes and trunks had built-in locks. The portmanteau has a locking chain threaded through brass rings, secured by a padlock at the end.

(Reproduction of 18th-century portmanteau courtesy of Phil Dunning, Canadian Parks Service)





DRAWER HANDLES

Ball and back plate handles were used on furniture as well as on large pieces of luggage. These examples could have come from a drawer in a small clothing closet, a lap desk or a box of liquor bottles. Any of these could have been part of a wealthy traveller's baggage.

(Photo of liquor box courtesy of Interpretation Branch, Canada Parks Service)

4. A Voyage to Disaster

St-Luc de La Corne kept a diary which gives a vivid record of his ill-fated voyage. He later made several copies of his account, with slight variations in the names of the passengers and various other details. Using the diary, we can reconstruct the events of the voyage.

On 11 October, says La Corne, "we were ordered by General Murray to embark but the northeast wind made it impossible for us to sail."

Murray, it seems, was anxious to see the deportees gone - chiefly, he later implied, for their own good. The following March, after the disaster, he wrote to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in North America, to argue that the catastrophe was not his fault but the victims'. Murray said he knew

> *how hazardous it is to attempt the navigation of this Golph and River so late in the year. Had the French Officers obeyed my orders the misfortune would not have happened to them but they put off their departure to the last moment in hopes of a peace, and being reestablished in the colony.*

In the meantime, the *Auguste* was having trouble getting out of the river. La Corne's diary continues:

> *15 October: We left Québec and a small southeast wind took us to Saint-Patrice's hole.*
>
> *16 October: A small southeast wind took us to about a league from Île aux Coudres where we lost our main anchor and were almost driven ashore by the strong current.*

17 October: Our three ships had safe anchor at Île aux Coudres where we were delayed by a strong northeast wind until the 27th. We were obliged to renew our provisions.

28 October: Southeast wind brought us opposite Kamouraska.

30 to 31 October: We lost sight of our two other vessels near the Gaspé.

1 November: We estimate we made 22 leagues in the night and in the morning we came across the Jeanne and the Moulineux.

4 to 6 November: A violent northeast wind brought a severe storm. All our trunks and boxes broke loose, most of our cabins were damaged and several people were injured by the luggage. We also lost provisions and were not able to cook. The Captain assured us afterwards that in 18 years of sailing he had never seen such a storm.

7 November: Everyone worked to repair the damage. Fire broke out in the galley for the third time but this time the ship was much more damaged by it than before.

9 November: A strong east wind blew us near Île Brion, we gave wide berth to Îles aux Oiseaux.

10 November: We were at Île Terre-Neuve [Newfoundland].

11 November: The storm over, at nine in the morning my Brother and I had the Captain take a sounding. We found ourselves in 43 fathoms on Orphan's Banks.

Here La Corne was surely mistaken: Orphan's Bank is off the Gaspé, a long sail both from the *Auguste*'s 10 November position off Newfoundland, and from the location of the shipwreck four days later. His diary continues:

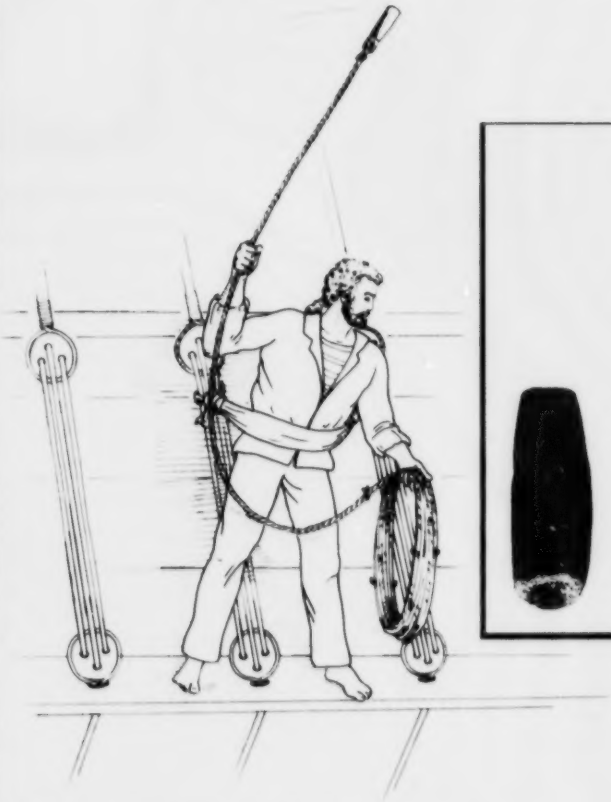
We fished till three in the afternoon and caught 200 cod. An east wind with gales and drenching rain, drove

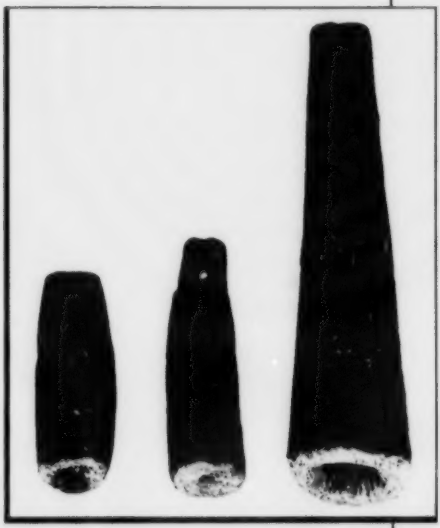
us before we knew it to the Coast of Île Royale [Cape Breton]. In the night we passed close to a cliff and only a shift in the wind saved us. We tacked to the northeast for six or seven hours.

12 November: About 10 o'clock in the morning we sighted land. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon we were almost carried ashore. At our insistance, the Captain dropped anchor, which held. The wind changed and then we beat up to windward away from shore. In the night the wind swung to the east and we rounded the cape again and tacked to the north for 8 or 9 hours.

13 to 14 November: In the night we tacked to the southeast without knowing where we were since it was raining. The crew was composed of three officers, eight sailors (two of them hurt), two cabin boys, a steward, and a cook. Six of our soldiers were assigned to each watch. On the night of the 14th we were still in sight of land but could not recognize it having on board only maps of Europe.

By now the crew was exhausted and the ship was almost unmanageable. The next day the crew took to their hammocks, and the *Auguste* drove onto the sands of Aspy Bay.



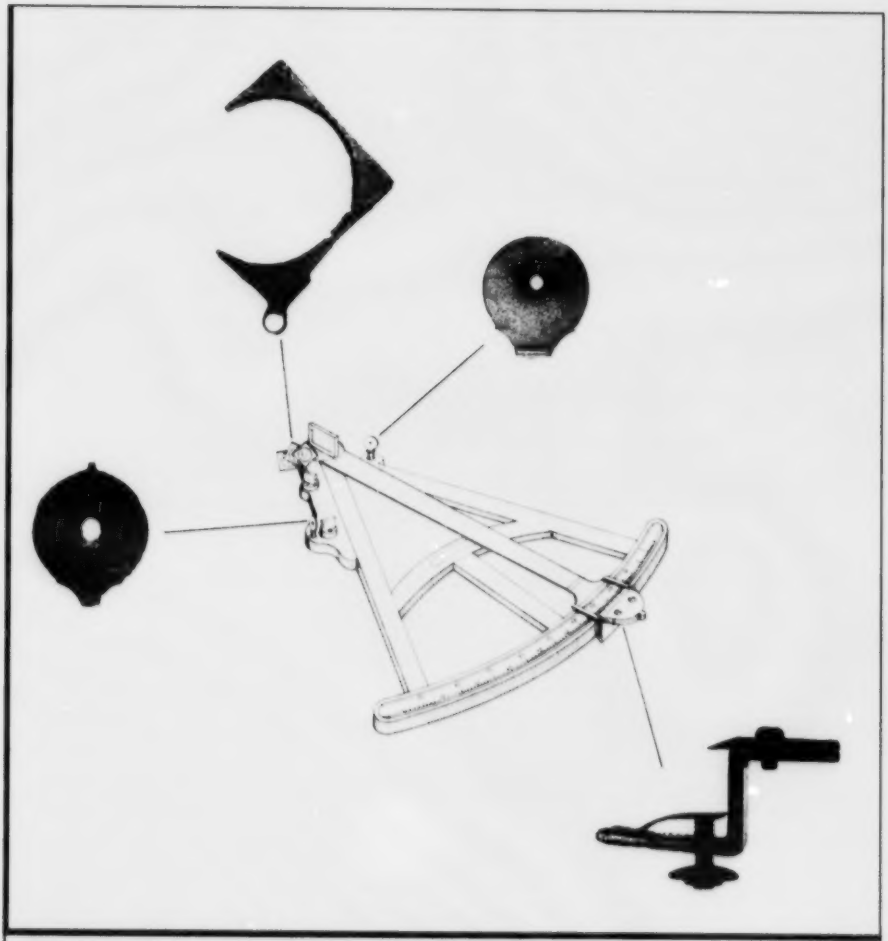


LEAD SOUNDING WEIGHTS

In the 18th century, seamen found the depth of the water by heaving lead weights like these into the water, determining the depth from marks on the line attached to the lead.

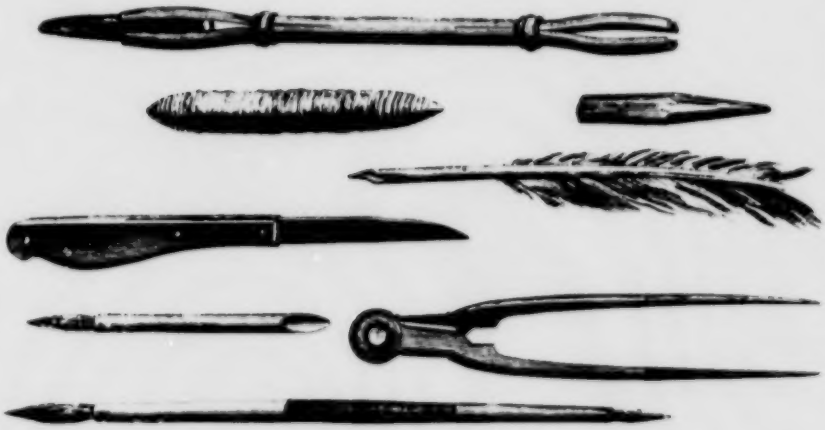
Taking a sounding required skill and co-ordination. In shallow water a sailor stood amidships at the side of the vessel. In his hand was a coiled rope marked at prescribed intervals (eg. 30 or 60 feet, 5 or 10 fathoms) with a small lead weight at one end. He swung the lead forward and released it, compensating for the forward motion of the ship. By the time the lead hit bottom it would be directly below him, the line vertical. The pilot then computed the depth by noting the markers.

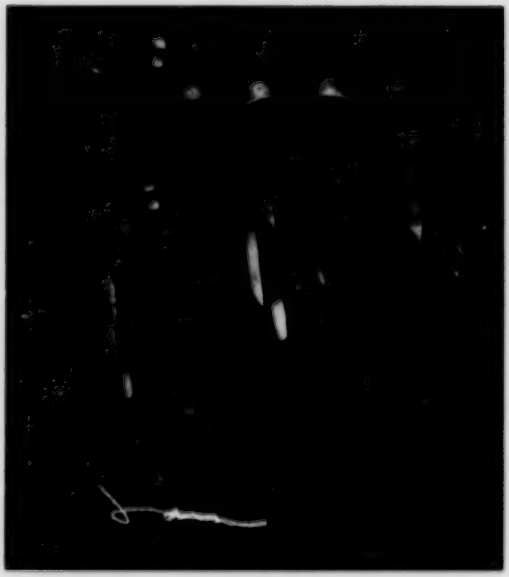
The smaller sounding weights from the **Auguste** *are hand leads. The large one is a deep-sea lead, used to take a deep water sounding while the ship was stationary. The "XX" incised on the side of the lead identifies its weight as 20 pounds. The small cavity in the base allowed the leads to be "armed" with tallow, which would pick up samples of the bottom.*



QUADRANT

Parts of a Hadley's quadrant were found among the detritus from the* Auguste. *Invented in 1731 by John Hadley, the quadrant was the most accurate instrument available at the time for determining latitude.





DRAFTING SET

Various people among the **Auguste***'s passengers and crew could have used dividers, pens, and compass. The unusually large assortment from the site suggests that these examples came from a set of drawing instruments. Any one of several people aboard could have used a drafting set — the ship's navigator, a map-maker, an explorer like La Vérendrye, or one of the artisans.*

(Drawing: Denis Diderot, "L'Encyclopedie..." Paris, 1751-65)

5. The Long March of St-Luc de La Corne

The day after the wreck, the survivors did their best to bury the bodies which had washed ashore. Then they set out on foot with provisions for eight days. La Corne notes that the soldiers carried fewer provisions, preferring to bring along useless items that they had to throw away after three or four days. Both the Captain and La Corne thought they were on Isle Royale (Cape Breton), perhaps near Louisbourg.

La Corne, who was well-experienced in wilderness travel, correctly anticipated the difficulties of their journey. After nine days travelling through forests, over mountains and across streams, they came to Ingonish, but here they found only abandoned houses and two dead bodies. By now Étienne had pleurisy and was unable to continue. Both he and Monier, the soldier from the Béarn regiment, stayed behind when the others set out on 26 November, promising to send back help. It had snowed during the night, obscuring any trails. La Corne led the way, helping his companions, encouraging them, carrying their packs and even making shoes for them.

On 3 December they reached St. Ann's Bay where they found an abandoned boat. They spent two days repairing it, but when they were ready to launch it, another severe winter storm blew in. Short of fuel and provisions, exhausted and sick, they were almost ready to give up when two Indians found them. The Indians took them across the bay, where La Corne left his four companions with a good fire, and with a little bit of flour and fat, the last of their provisions.

The Indians took La Corne to their cabin. The next day he returned to his companions with some dried meat and two canoes. Together they set off for St. Peter's, but they were held up for two days in the Great Bras d'Or Channel because

of wind, snow and rain. At midnight on 8 December they arrived at St. Peter's, where they found five Acadian households. La Corne sent the two Indians off to Ingonish to rescue the other two survivors, although he did not expect them to be still alive.

For two and a half days they rested, while La Corne wrote to the Governor at Louisbourg on 11 December telling of the shipwreck. Captain Knowles, Laforêt and La Force and two Acadian guides took the letter with them to Louisbourg.

But La Corne himself had decided to return overland to Montréal, taking with him the servant Pierre and two young Acadian guides. He told the Captain that he desired above all things to be near his family and that he was too afraid of the sea to sail again. He now faced another 10 weeks of incredibly hard snowshoeing over hundreds of miles.

Why did La Corne not go to Louisbourg with the others? A skeptical Sir Jeffrey Amherst offered his own interpretation:

> *you will see by his Journal that he crossed in a canoe from St. Peters to Nova Scotia rather than to embark for Halifax or Boston; which latter Port would have been his best and shortest route to Canada. I believe he purposely avoided every place where he apprehended the least danger of being prevented to return hither [Montréal] or he would never have embarked on this immense journey on snow shoes.*
>
> *Monsieur De St. Luc is indeed much to be pitied for the loss of his relations & Friends; his fatigues after he left St. Peters are of his own seeking, & could not be for any other reason but to avoid being shipped away for England or France...*

By 13 December La Corne, his servant and two guides were at Chedabucto at a small Acadian settlement near today's Guysborough. Some Indians nearby made snowshoes for them. They stopped again on 17 December at Tracadie, where they found five Acadian houses. Here, writes La Corne, "I

was obliged to leave Pierre who could go no further on snowshoes."

La Corne and the two Acadians set off on the long trek to Fort Cumberland [Beauséjour]. Passing through Antigonish, following the Nova Scotian coast to Tatamagouche, they found Indians starving to death at both places, while La Corne himself began to feel the effects of travelling in intense cold with insufficient food and little sleep. He wrote to the Commandant at Fort Cumberland asking for supplies, sending an Indian guide as courier on ahead.

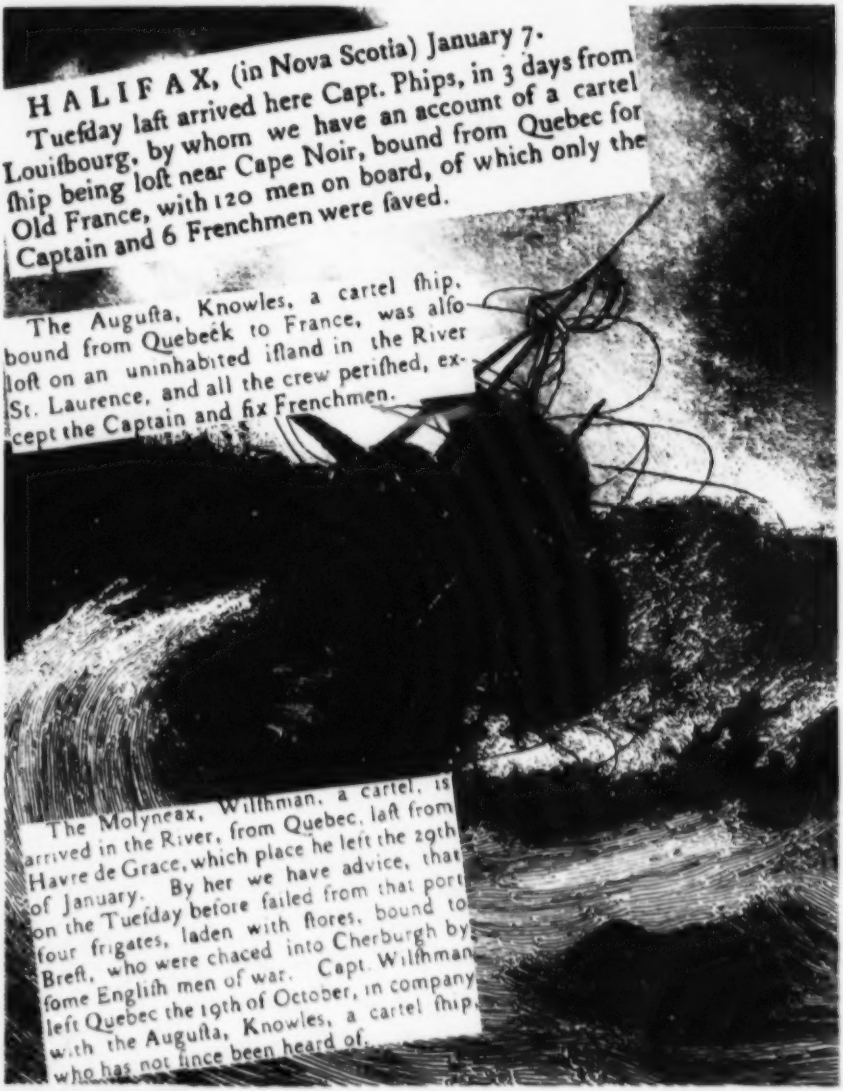
"We were on our last legs from exhaustion and lack of food," he notes. "Our hungry stomachs easily digested the disgusting flesh of a skinny fox that we killed on the 6th; only its bones were left."

Help arrived on 7 January. Revived with food and brandy, La Corne and his party at length reached Fort Cumberland, where he was received "with kindness." After a week's rest and with supplies renewed, they headed for Haute Pâque on the Saint John River, arriving on 29 January. Father Germain, the resident priest, gave the group two bushels of Indian corn to supplement their dwindling supplies. He also made them new snowshoes. They pressed on up the Saint John as far as Grand Falls and reached Témiscouata where La Corne left his two worn-out Acadian guides.

La Corne arrived in Kamouraska on 21 February. He sent a sleigh back for the Acadians while he headed for Québec, arriving on 22 February. In Québec he called on General Murray, whom he had last seen in mid-October, and told him of the shipwreck.

On 24 February, he arrived in Montréal, home at last. He had been walking through the depths of a Canadian winter for three- and a half months. When he told his story, almost every family in Montréal found itself mourning a relative or a friend.

Thomas Gage, the British Governor at Montréal, reported La Corne's arrival to Sir Jeffrey Amherst:



HALIFAX, (in Nova Scotia) January 7.

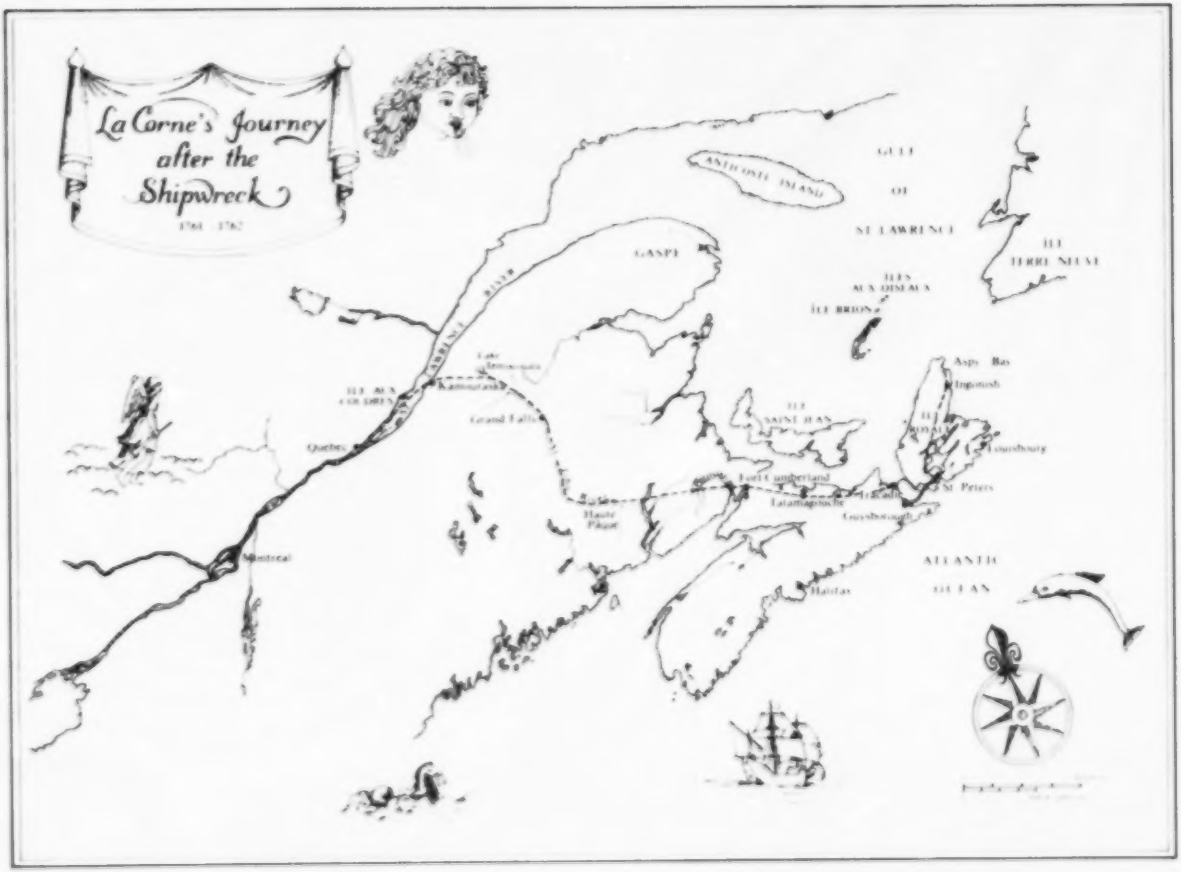
Tuefday laft arrived here Capt. Phips, in 3 days from Louifbourg, by whom we have an account of a cartel fhip being loft near Cape Noir, bound from Quebec for Old France, with 120 men on board, of which only the Captain and 6 Frenchmen were faved.

The Auguſta, Knowles, a cartel fhip, bound from Quebeck to France, was alſo loft on an uninhabited iſland in the River St. Laurence, and all the crew periſhed, except the Captain and ſix Frenchmen.

The Molyneax, Wilſhman, a cartel, is arrived in the River, from Quebec, laft from Havre de Grace, which place he left the 29th of January. By her we have advice, that on the Tueſday before ſailed from that port four frigates, laden with ſtores, bound to Breſt, who were chaced into Cherburgh by ſome Engliſh men of war. Capt. Wilſhman left Quebec the 19th of October, in company with the Auguſta, Knowles, a cartel ſhip, who has not ſince been heard of.

NEWS ITEMS

***The sinking of the* Auguste *made the news in "Lloyd's Evening Post" and "The British Chronicle" on 3 February and 24 February, 1762. The bottom item is from "The New York Mercury," 17 February 1762. The items refer to the ship as the* Augusta, *its name presumably anglicized because the vessel was now in British hands. In La Corne's account, however, it is called the* Auguste.


La Corne's Journey after the Shipwreck
1761 1762
ANTICOSTI ISLAND
GULF OF ST LAWRENCE
GASPE
ILE AUX COUDRES
Quebec
Montreal
Kamouraska
Grand Falls
Haute Plage
Tatamagouche
Louisbourg
Halifax
ATLANTIC OCEAN

About six days ago he came here in the evening to the astonishment of everybody; and gave us a most tragical account of the unhappy fate of about 114 persons who perished in the wreck, and of his own sufferings. He has been travelling from the 15th Nov. till the latter end of February, and at length has reached his native home.... The man is to be pitied, has lost his brother, two sons, and two nephews. This town is all in mourning. St. Luc lost two other sons going to France a few years ago. The ship they were in engaging a privateer blew up, and few of the crew saved.

Gage added his own wry observation about the motives behind La Corne's astonishing journey.

"I believe," wrote the Governor, "nothing but main force will get him again on ship board."

La Corne's later life was, in its way, as eventful as his youth. His family sorrows were not over. Only weeks after he returned to Montréal, his daughter and his sister, a nun at the congregation of Notre Dame, died mysteriously of poison. His sister-in-law was also dying, as was another brother in the country.

La Corne was convinced at first that the British occupation would be temporary, but once the Treaty of Paris was signed he decided to remain in Canada and create a new life for himself under British rule. Two of his daughters married British army officers, while a third married a Canadian officer in the British services. La Corne himself married for the third time in 1774.

His role as conquered subject and even as agitator against the government did not detract from his standing as a prominent member of Canadian society. In 1779, Governor Guy Carleton recommended his appointment as a councillor on the newly created Legislative Council. La Corne died at the age of 73 at his home in Montréal, active until the end in the political and social life of his country.

6. The Life and Death of a Ship

What little we know about the *Auguste* suggests that it had an eventful history before its final voyage. It was French-built and spent at least part of its career as a merchant vessel, carrying sugar, coffee and cotton in the Caribbean. A few relevant documents about it have survived - admiralty register, passport, contract of sale, and insurance papers - but they tell us little about the design or the details of its commercial service.

The *Auguste* was captured by the British on 18 August 1756. At that time, it had a crew of 39 men and mounted just six cannon, but the ship was equipped to carry as many as 16 guns. It was sold by the Navy as a prize and the new British owners probably used it as a merchant ship, changing its name to *Augusta*.

The last ships to leave North America in 1760 carried news of the Montréal surrender to England, giving merchants enough time to assemble a cargo to send to Québec in the spring. The *Auguste* arrived in Québec 22 July 1761 carrying a wide array of goods - mirrors, silk, castor and felt hats, guns, tea, paint, glass, tobacco pipes, soap, wrought iron, earthenware, playing cards, books, tinware, nails, mustard, garden seeds, stationery, cabinet ware, silk hose for women and worsted hose for men. The ship also carried such perishables and consumables as snuff, wheat meal, roll tobacco, salt pork and beef, butter, cheese, apothecary supplies and strong beer.

After unloading its cargo, the *Auguste* was commandeered or leased by Governor Murray to accommodate the overflow of the Canadian exiles and their families from the other two

For SALE by the CANDLE,
At GARRAWAY's Coffee-House in Exchange-Alley,
On Wednesday the 17th Inſtant, at Five o'Clock preciſely in the Afternoon,
THE following Goods, being the entire
Cargo of the AUGUSTE, a French Prize from St. Domingo,
taken by his Majeſty's Ship Sheerneſs, Thomas Graves, Eſq.
439 Hogſheads, 28 Tierces, and 24 Barrels Sugar
30 Pipes, 18 Hogſheads, 69 Tierces and 126 Barrels Coffee
1 Pipe, 11 Tierces, 7 Barrels, and 19 Indigo
9 Bags Cotton Wool
Samples of the above to be ſeen from Monday Morning the 15th
Inſtant to the Time of Sale, at Wiggin's Key; where Catalogues
are delivered, and by
J. and J. BRADSHAW, and J. C. TORIN, Brokers.

ADVERTISEMENT

This cargo advertisement from the "Gazetteer" and "London Daily Advertiser," 11 November 1756.

(Port scene painting: copyright Lewis Parker, courtesy of the Fortress of Louisbourg; photo by A. Fennell)

cartel ships, the *Jane* and the *Molineux*. (These appear in La Corne's account as the *Jeanne* and the *Moulineux*.)

When it left Québec under the command of John Knowles, the *Auguste* was described in the harbour records as a 245-ton ship, with nine guns, foreign-built but registered in London. The cargo was listed as "a cartel to Old France with prisoners on board." If its normal crew would have numbered 39 - the number recorded at the time of its capture in 1756 - then the crew on the last voyage should have been twice the size of the 15 mentioned by La Corne. In that case, it is less surprising that three days of winter storms so exhausted the crew that they literally ceased to care whether they lived or died.

The few details we do know about *Auguste* give us some notion of its appearance. Because it is described as a "ship," we know that it was three-masted, with square sails on all three masts. (Modern sailing vessels, by contrast, have triangular sails.) If the bulwarks were cut for 16 guns and it could carry 245 tons, it must have been about 70 feet long.

What fragments of the ship survived the wreck?

Aspy Bay is relatively shallow, with a sand bottom, and severe east-northeast winds transform it into a destructive churning mix of sand and water. La Corne tells us that the ship broke up just a few hours after it went aground, and the subsequent action of the waves in Aspy Bay meant that virtually nothing remained for archaeologists and divers to find. Even the fragments and detritus which did survive were soon buried under the ever-shifting sands of the bay floor.

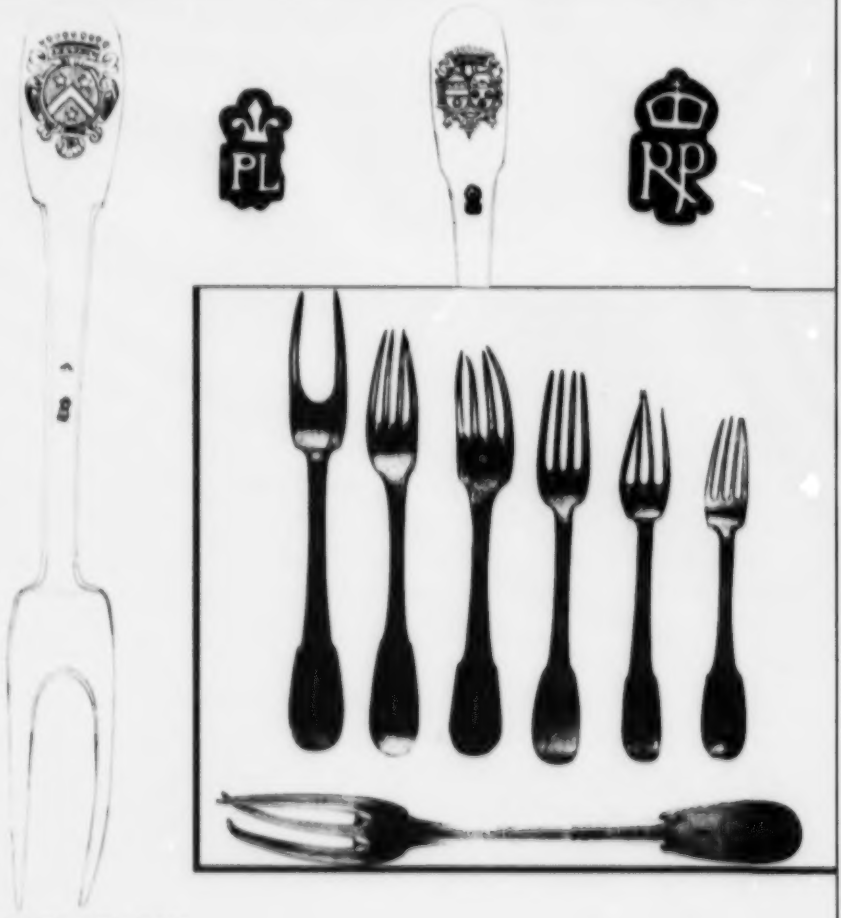
Because of the importance of the passengers and the vividness of La Corne's account of the catastrophe, the *Auguste* is one of Canada's more famous shipwrecks. Over the years, dozens of divers and amateur archaeologists searched for the wreck, but found only sand. Then, in 1977, the sands shifted, exposing only a few ship fragments and some artifacts. The next summer the sand began to move back over the site, covering it to a depth of several metres.

In the meantime, the site was explored by Cape Breton divers led by Robert MacKinnon and Ed Barrington, along with marine archaeologists from the Canadian Parks Service. Of the thousands of pieces of wood, metal, rope, and cloth which make up a sailing ship, almost nothing remained. The divers found only a few pieces of armament, equipment and rigging. In general, metal objects had survived, but everything else had vanished.

Without the ship itself, how do we know this is the site of the *Auguste* wreck? To begin with, the network of ponds behind the beach still look from seaward like the navigable river mouth described by La Corne. The Québec harbour records show that the *Auguste* left Québec armed with nine cannon, and 13 cannon were found on the site. Nine were probably the ship's guns; the others would have been used as ballast, including two guns rendered unusable by having their vent holes spiked. The eight cannon raised from the bottom were light, all falling within the British two-, three- and four-pounder calibres. Marks on the guns indicate that they were manufactured in Britain specifically for the merchant trade. (All ships carried weapons, even in peacetime. Alone on the high seas, often trading in open and lawless ports, merchant sailors had to be able to protect their craft, their cargo and themselves. In addition to the ever-present danger of pirates, merchant vessels also faced the threat of capture by an enemy ship or privateer during wartime. The *Auguste* herself had been such a "prize.")

More importantly, the divers also found a variety of gear and personal possessions belonging to the ill-fated passengers and crew.

Some artifacts are poignant reminders of the people and families on board. The Cross of St. Louis must have belonged to one of the La Corne brothers. Other objects speak eloquently of the passengers' station in life and their situation at the time of the voyage. Silver tableware and buckles, small swords and elegant personal effects (including an elaborate toothpick, a flask cap, a nutcracker and sugar tongs) were not



COATS OF ARMS

The heraldic coats of arms of Jacques-René Gaultier de Varennes (left) and his wife, Marie-Jeanne le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène are engraved on silverware recovered at the site. Both died in 1757. Their eldest son, Louis Hippolyte, took the family silver with him on the Auguste.

The coat of arms of Jean Baptiste Le Ber de Saint Paul et de Senneville, a passenger aboard the Auguste, *was found engraved on a silver fork.*

The marks on the silverware are of two of New France's most prominent craftsmen. Roland Paradis (1696-1754) was trained by his father, a Parisian silversmith, and set up a successful business in Montréal. Paul Lambert (1691-1749) was perhaps the colony's premier worker in precious metals during his lifetime.

(Drawing: Denis Diderot, "L'Encyclopédie...," Paris, 1751-65)

common possessions in New France. Among the few who might have owned such things were the illustrious fur-trading and military families on the *Auguste* - and the silverware includes spoons and forks which bear the family crests of the La Ber de Sennevilles and the Gaultier de Varennes.

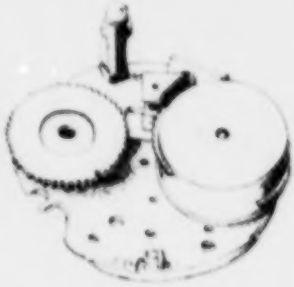
Many coins were also found. They represented considerable wealth, particularly in the hard times of 1761. A gold 1677 guinea, bearing the bust of Charles II of England, is the oldest dated coin and was found in remarkably good condition. Other mint dates ranged up to 1759. It is thought that these coins were hoarded, along with jewelry and anything else made of gold or silver that could be easily liquidated. Most of the French coins from the wreck were made in 1726, but showed little signs of circulation, which supports the theory that they came from a family hoard.

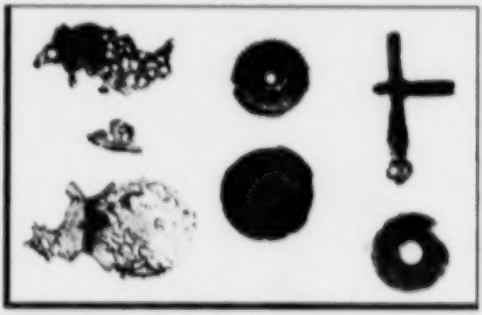
The large number of foreign coins - including a four-escudo gold coin from Brazil and a two-skilling piece from Norway - reflect the dependency of New France on foreign currency.

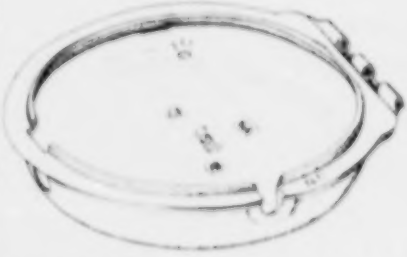
Less spectacular, but no less representative of the men on board, are uniform buttons and the eye from a tomahawk, the essential fighting weapon of soldiers in North America.

The *Auguste* story finally comes down to a few bits of metal plucked from the sands of Aspy Bay more than two centuries later. These artifacts are filled with poignancy. In their silence, they speak eloquently of valour, dismay, hope and despair.

7. Artifacts of the Passengers

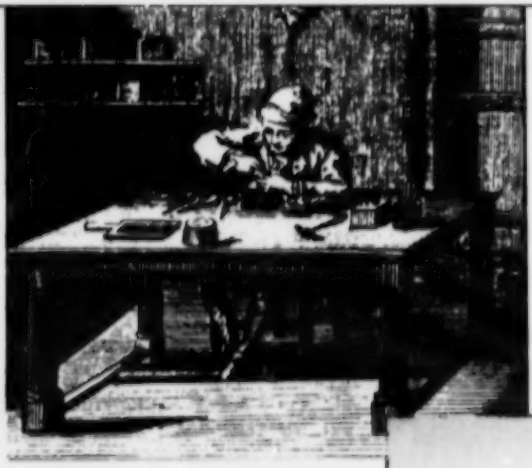






WATCH CASE

The silver watch case, the face plate and the fragments of the workings were part of a complex and expensive watch. The hallmarks indicate it was made in London in 1758 or 1759. Some parts are decorated by fine cutwork which would have taken the watchmaker several months to complete. Marks on the rim of the case, a cypher and the number 3437 may have been made by someone who cleaned the watch. Because of the unrefined oil used to lubricate the works, watches had to be cleaned about once a year. The process required the complete disassembly of the watch.



SILVER MEDAL

This silver medal was not a battle honour but a popular souvenir of a great French victory. It was struck to commemorate the capture of Port-Mahon, the capital of the Mediterranean island of Minorca, in April 1756. The French forces were commanded by the Duc de Richelieu, and the engagement provoked the British declaration of war which inaugurated the Seven Years' War.

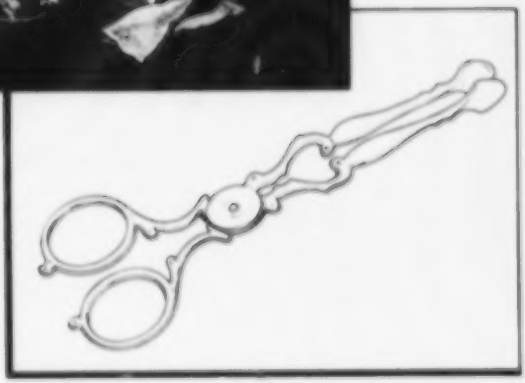
(Drawing: Denis Diderot, "L'Encyclopédie...," Paris, 1751-65)

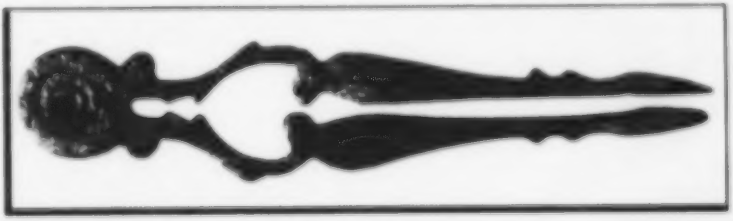
SILVER CAP

Men and women of the wealthier classes often carried liquor in small pocket flasks. This silver flask cap is marked with a monogram and coronet.

SILVER OBJECT

This cleverly designed object could be used as a toothpick and as a scoop for clearing wax out of the ear. It could also serve as a bodkin - a blunt needle for pulling tape or ribbon through an eyelet or a hem in clothing.





SUGAR TONGS

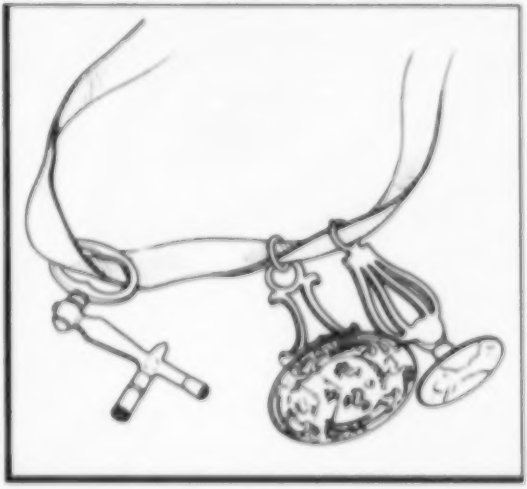
In the 18th century, sugar was not free-flowing but came to the table in lumps broken from a hard cone-shaped loaf. Tongs were used to transfer the lumps from the sugar bowl to the tea cup. Brass tongs like these were usually silver-plated, but they had little monetary value and they must have been brought with a passenger for their sentimental value - or perhaps for their usefulness.

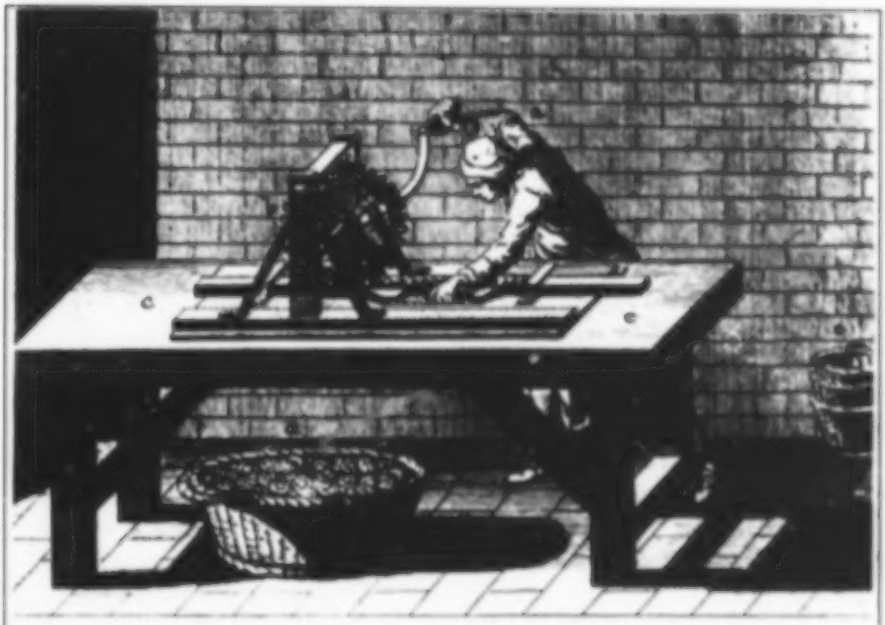
(Table scene courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)

NUT CRACKER

This brass nut cracker was in working condition when it was recovered. In the 18th century, a nut cracker could be found at the elegant dining table as well as in the back kitchen.

SIGNET SEAL
In the 18th century, letters were folded, shut with a blob of hot wax and stamped with an impression of the sender's mark. The coat of arms on this silver signet seal has not been identified, but it bears a mark of "cadence," the crescent just above one of the birds in the design. The mark indicates that the seal belonged to the second son of the holder of the coat of arms. Men carried their seals and watch keys on a ribbon which hung from their breeches.





LOUIS D'OR

One design is a Louis aux quatre L, a type minted between 1693 and 1701. In the centre of the four L's is an &, the mark of the mint in the French city of Aix. When this coin was over-stamped part of its edge was damaged. The other coin has oval shields containing the Royal Arms of France and the southern French province of Navarre. It looked so much like a pair of spectacles that it was often called a Louis aux lunettes.

(Drawing: Denis Diderot, "L'Encyclopédie...," Paris, 1751-65)

PIECE OF EIGHT

Pieces of eight are strongly associated with pirates and buried treasure, which makes them the most romantic if not the most valuable of coins. The silver eight-real piece - the "piece of eight" - was minted in the Spanish colonies during the 1750s.

A PIECE OF A PIECE OF EIGHT

Coins used to be valued by the weight of the metal in the coin, rather than by their face value. They were often cut to achieve the required value, a practice which gave rise to the term "making change." The triangular fragment was worth approximately one real. The slang term "two bits," meaning one-quarter of a dollar, originated as two eighths or a quarter of a real.

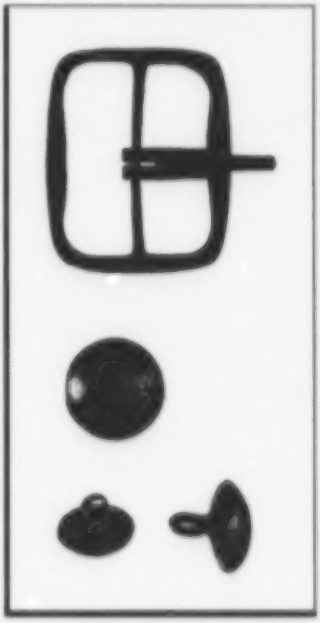
This one bears the mint mark O/M, showing that it was minted in Mexico City. Coins bearing marks from Lima, Guatemala City, and Santiago were also recovered.

(Drawing: Denis Diderot, "L'Encyclopédie...," Paris, 1751-65)

EYE OF TOMAHAWK

A French regular soldier dressed and equipped for wilderness fighting. His tomahawk was an essential weapon which was also used for clearing paths through brush and for cutting firewood. All that remains of the tomahawk found on the site is the eye fragment.

(Colour photo courtesy of the Canadian War Museum. 75019)



BUCKLE AND BUTTONS

The soldiers' uniforms of the Compagnies Franches de la Marine were practical, resembling civilian wilderness dress. The brass buckle and the buttons came from soldiers' uniforms.

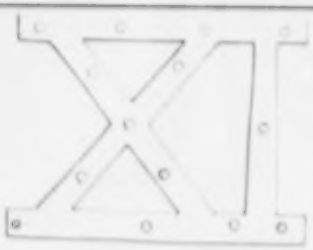
(Colour photo courtesy of the Canadian War Museum, 75026)

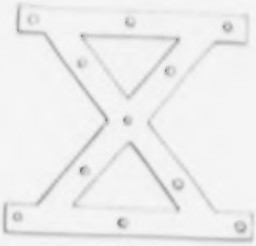
SPOON MOULD

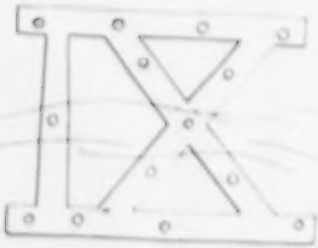
Well-to-do households in Canada used spoon moulds, such as this brass one, for casting pewter table spoons. A family coat of arms, now illegible, was carved into the lower mould and would have appeared as a raised design on the underside of the handle. One or more of the pewter spoons from the site may have been made in this mould.

(Reproduction of spoon courtesy of Conservation Division, Canadian Parks Service)

8. Artifacts of the Ship







DRAUGHT MARKS

These sets of sequential numbers, made of lead, were located on the bow and stern of the ship. They showed how deep the ship was sitting in the water and how the weight of the cargo was distributed in the hold. The Auguste had a loaded draught of 16 feet and an unloaded draught of 10 feet. The lead draught mark found by the divers is either a IX or an XI.

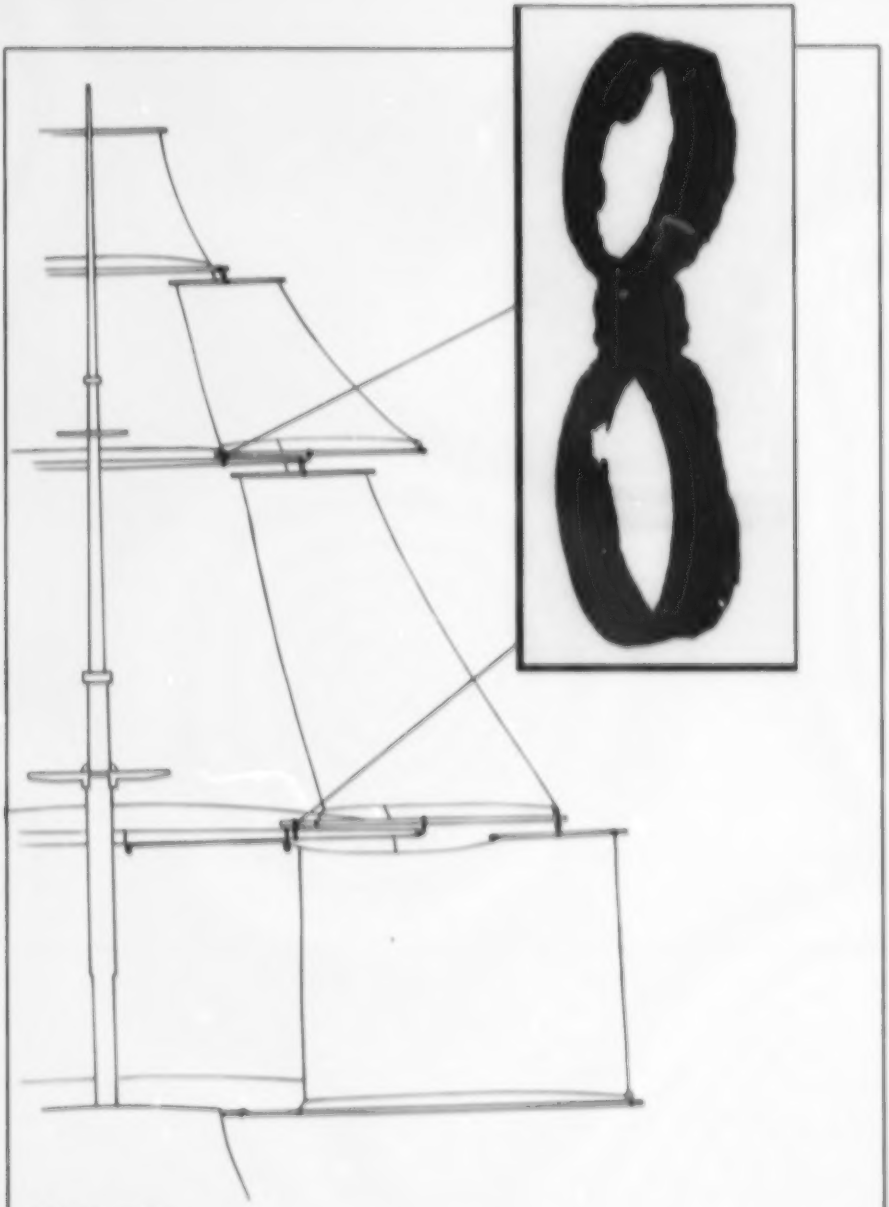
GRAPNEL

A grapnel is a four-pronged anchor used in small open boats. It could also be used for dragging the bottom to retrieve articles lost overboard. Like most of the wrought-iron artifacts from the site, this grapnel has been badly corroded by the salt water.

(Drawing: "Descriptions des Arts et Métiers," Paris, 1761-88)

FOOT VALVE

The foot valve was part of a mechanism to close off a section of the ship's pumps. This one is incomplete, but it has characteristic features of French foot valves of the period.



BOOM IRON

In light winds, ships such as the Auguste ***added sails, called studding or stunsails, to the outer ends of the regular square sails. To do this, sailors slipped a boom iron over the yard arm and then inserted a smaller boom through the top hoop of the boom iron. The stunsails were flown from this smaller boom.***

CURTAIN CORD PINS

An 18th-century ship had regular square windows instead of round portholes. Pins such as these with brass flowerheads were attached to the window frame or the wall just beside the window. They served as cleats for the cords of vertically raised curtains. The same form was also used as a clothes hook.

BALLAST

Since the Auguste *carried no cargo aside from the passenger's luggage, she would have needed extra ballast for stability. Some of the cannon and shot found at the site were evidently used for this purpose, not for weapons. The smallest piece of shot shown here is a 4-pounder, the correct calibre for the ship's guns. The others are 12-, 24- and 32-pound cannon balls. The largest piece is a 10-inch mortar shell.*

SMALL ARMS

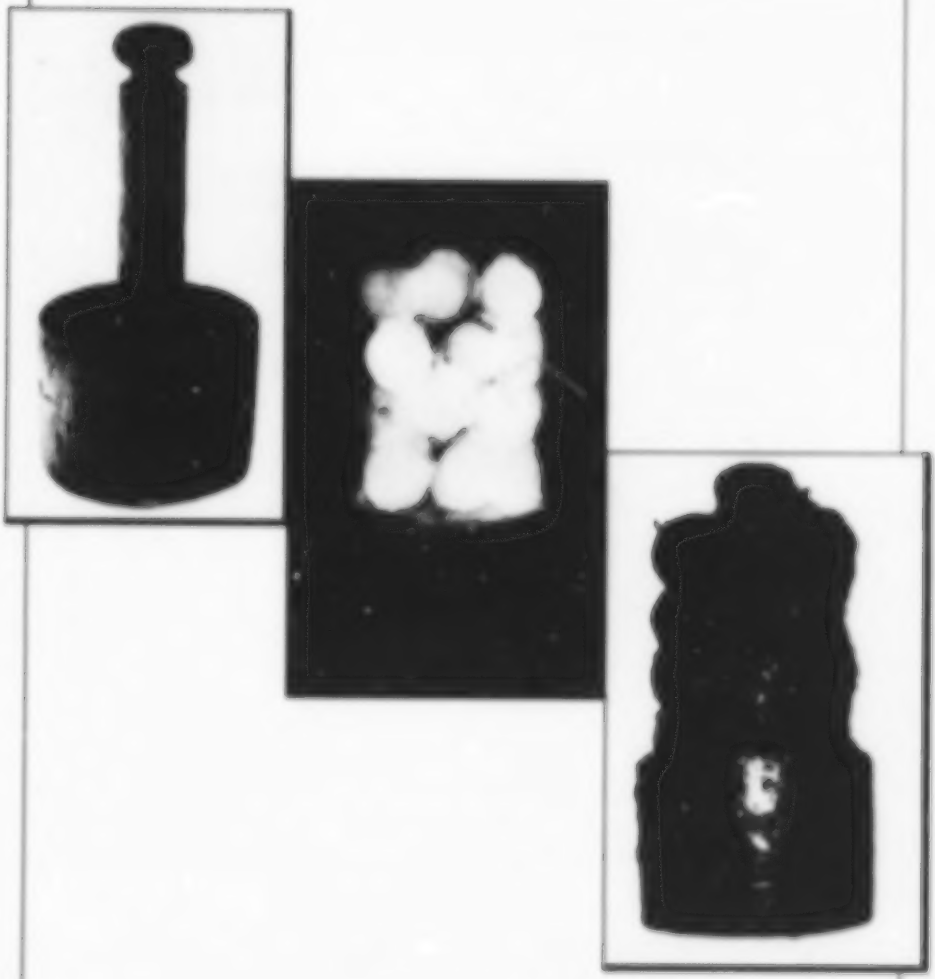
This butt plate and the round trigger guard finial are from a British sea service musket. They are easily recognized by their heavy, undecorated, and distinctively shaped brass parts. The "WB" stamped on the butt plate may be the mark of W. Brander, a London gunsmith who was in business between 1690 and 1750.

(Musket courtesy of Canadian War Museum)

BAR SHOT

The ship's cannons fired round shot, bar shot and grape shot. Round shot, the classic cannonball, damaged the hull of an enemy ship. Bar shot consisted of two round or half-round shot connected by a bar. It spun erratically through the opponent's rigging, destroying it, but without sinking the ship.

(Drawing: "Memoires d'artillerie...," Amsterdam, 1702)



GRAPE SHOT

Quilted grape shot was named for its resemblance to a cluster of grapes. It consisted of multiple lead shot bound in a canvas bag and arranged around a wooden spindle. When it was fired, the unit broke open, spraying the shot amidst the enemy's rigging and crew. The numeral "3" incised on the platform base shows that it was to be fired from a 3-pounder cannon.

9. If You Want to Learn More

Additional details on the lives of the La Cornes, LaVérendryes and others can be found in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vols. 2-4, edited by George W. Brown and others, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1969-79.

On special topics, you may want to consult the following books:

J.F. Bosher, *The Canada Merchants 1713-1763*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987.

John E. Langdon, *Canadian Silversmiths 1700-1900*. Stinehour Press, Toronto, 1966.

A. B. McCullough, *Money and Exchange in Canada to 1900*. Dundurn Press, Toronto, 1984.

Jack L. Summers and René Chartrand, *Military Uniforms in Canada, 1665-1970*. War Museum Publication No. 16, National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa, 1981.

Catherine Sullivan, *Legacy of the Machault, A Collection of 18th-century Artifacts*. Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History, Parks Canada, Ottawa, 1986.

Appendix: The Passenger List

The following list shows the passengers who are believed to have been aboard the *Auguste* during its last voyage.

Officers of the Troupes de la Marine and their families

Captains
- Chevalier de La Corne
- St. Luc de La Corne (survived)
- Bécancourt de Portneuf

Lieutenants
- Chevalier de La Vérendrye
- Jean-Hippolyte Gaultier de Varennes
- Godefroy
- Pierre-Marie Raimbault de Saint Blin
- Jean Le Ber de Saint Paul et de Senneville
- Pécaudy de Contrecoeur
- Charles-René Dejordy de Villebon

Enseignes en pied
- Raimbault Groschaine
- René Boucher de La Perrière
- La Durantaye
- Trevet Lepervanche

Cadets à l'aiguillette
- La Corne de Saint Luc (son of La Corne Saint-Luc)
- Chevalier de La Corne de Chaptes (son of La Corne Saint-Luc)

LaCorne Dubreuil (nephew of La Corne Saint-Luc)

Senneville and Saint-Paul } sons of Jean and Catherine Le Ber de St. Paul de Senneville

Paul Francois Dejordy de Villebon (son of Charles-René Dejordy de Villebon, aged 8)

Women

Mrs. Catherine Saint Paul et de Senneville

Mrs. Mezières (in-law of La Vérendrye)

Mrs. Busquet (cousin of Gaultier de Varennes)

Mrs. Catherine Dejordy de Villebon

Miss Dejordy de Villebon

Miss De Senneville (sister of Jean Le Ber de St. Paul et de Senneville)

Miss Mezières

Soldiers of the Troupes de la Marine
("dit" indicates a nickname)

Pierre Durif "dit" St. Antoine, Sargeant of the Mariez Company

Jean Serchet "dit" Ladouceur of the Mariez Company

Jean Philipe Garnot "dit" Brindamour, Sargeant of the LaValterie Co. Pierre Hourdan of the LaValterie Company Étienne Chaussefois "dit" St. Étienne of the LaValterie Company

Pierre Houdin "dit" Rouillard of the Denis Laronde Company

Guitton Bery "dit" LaViolette of the LaColombière Company

Jean Larue, Sargeant of the St. Vincent Company

Jean Condamine "dit" St. Jean of the de Vergor Company

Antoine François Grassier "dit" Vadeboncoeur of the de Lusignan Co.

Pierre Berland "dit" Jolibois, Cannoner of the de Jacau Company

Pierre Dupont "dit" Belhumeur of the Repentigni Company
Claude Louis LeGagneur "dit" St. Sulpice of the Belestre Company
Joseph Gautier "dit" Labonté, Sargeant of the Chev. de la Corne Co.

Officer and soldiers of the Troupes de Terre

Lieutenant
de Marolle of the Regiment de Béarn

Soldiers
of the Regiment de Berry
Joseph Petelle "dit" Bellegarde
Jean Baptiste Maillard
Jean DeCoste "dit" Latulipe
Louis Gautier "dit" Beausoleil

of the Regiment de la Reine
Pierre Joseph Girard "dit" Lajeunesse

of the Regiment de Béarn
Joseph Monier and his wife (Joseph Monier survived)

of the Regiment de LaSarre
Jacques Benjamin Guerin "dit" Decamp and his wife

of the Regiment de Languedoc
Pierre Chavalier
André Monarque "dit" Piemontois

of the Regiment de Guienne
Antoine Charbonier "dit" Printemps with his wife and two children

of the Regiment de Royal Roussillon
Prime Martel "dit" Prestaboire and his wife
Nicolas Vilmir
Leger Boyasse "dit" Clermont

Joseph Lyonard "dit" Laforêt with his wife and child
(Joseph Laforêt survived)

Other Passengers

Paul Hery
Francois Hery
Lechelle
Louis Hervieux (nephew of La Corne Saint-Luc)
Delivier (or Belivier), an English merchant
Eight Artisans or Habitants (two survived)
Seven Women (possibly the wives of soldiers in the *Troupes de la Marine)*
Thirteen Children
Seven Soldiers

Seventeen people made up the ship's crew, but the captain, John Knowles, is the only one whose name has survived.

Acknowledgements

Many people in the Canadian Parks Service helped to create this booklet. Its main contributors are Charles Bradley, Olive Jones, Lynne Sussman and Sheila Ascroft. The photographs are by Rock Chan unless otherwise indicated; the drawings are by Carol Piper. Werner Wicke designed the booklet and cover.

Thanks are due Silver Donald Cameron for rewriting the text; to August Vachon, Norman Willis, André Gousse and Robert Smith for information on some artifacts, and to the late Ruth Morrison of the North Highlands Community Association for her devoted interest in the site.